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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

MS-763: Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman Collection, 1930-2004.

Series H: United Jewish Appeal, 1945-1995.

Subseries 1: Sermons, Speeches and Writings, 1949-1982.

Box
24

Folder
19

Speech notes. 1977-1979.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

I. SELF-IDENTIFICATION

A. Consists of three elements

1. Memory of past - covenant, history
2. Action in present - full Halacha or partial
3. Anticipation of future - Messianic ideal of redeemed world

B. Value of heritage

1. We gave civilization to world

II. COMMITMENT

A. To survival of this people

1. Through strengthening Israel
2. Through building local community

B. Examples

1. Commitment ~~lacking~~ absent in 1933
2. Commitment present in 1973

C. Today

1. Fight dangers
2. Accept duty

III. ACTION

- A. Build The day school
- B. Send The planes to Entebbe
- C. Raise The money
- D. Raise the people
- E. Handle history

IV. RESULTS

- A. Nation will be built
- B. Losses of Holocaust will be replaced -
scholars ; libraries ; schools ; communities
- C. French + Russian Jewry will be
reitalized
- D. Uniquely Jewish creativity will flourish -
in spiritual, moral, philosophical realms -
to say nothing of other fields like
medicine, mathematics, music in
which we already excell.

SELF-IDENTIFICATION

(Why bother to survive)



~~COMM~~

COMMITMENT

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
(Community)



ACTION

(programs + money)



RESULTS

(strong Israel - strong Federation)
creativity

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BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA 90212
(213) 278-0970

December 28, 1978

Rabbi Herbert Friedman
American Friends of
Jerusalem Academy
75 East 55th Street
Suite 501
New York, New York 10022

Re: Western Regional Leadership
Conference--Young Leadership Programming

Dear Herb:

Confirming the telephone conversation on Friday, December 22, 1978, between yourself, myself, Tom Hurwitz and Gary Bess, the Young Leadership Program at the Western Regional Leadership Conference in Palm Springs will be directed toward providing the participants with a perspective on their roles in community leadership and the applicability of their involvement to their daily lives. Your presentation will be arranged in subtopics, in order of progression as follows:

1. Self-Identification
2. Commitment
3. Action
4. Results

The subtopics will be presented in 15-20 minute blocks, followed by periods of discussion on each subtopic. Chairs will be arranged in a circular design, to facilitate the kind of group interaction which will allow participants to ask questions and to dialogue with you and with one another. Interwoven throughout your presentation will be examples in recent history and in contemporary events which bear out the realization that Jewish survival is linked to community involvement.

The program will begin with lunch on Friday, January 19, 1979 at noon. Your presentation will begin around 1 p.m. and end around 4 p.m.

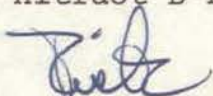
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Rabbi Herbert Friedman
December 28, 1978
Page Two

Within the next few days, Tom Hurwitz or Gary Bess will work out with the UJA Speaker's Bureau your travel schedule from St. Louis to Los Angeles on Thursday, January 18th. Either Gary Bess or a member of the Young Leadership Cabinet will meet you in Los Angeles and drive you to Palm Springs.

On behalf of the Young Leadership Cabinet, please accept our thanks for your continued support and inspiration.

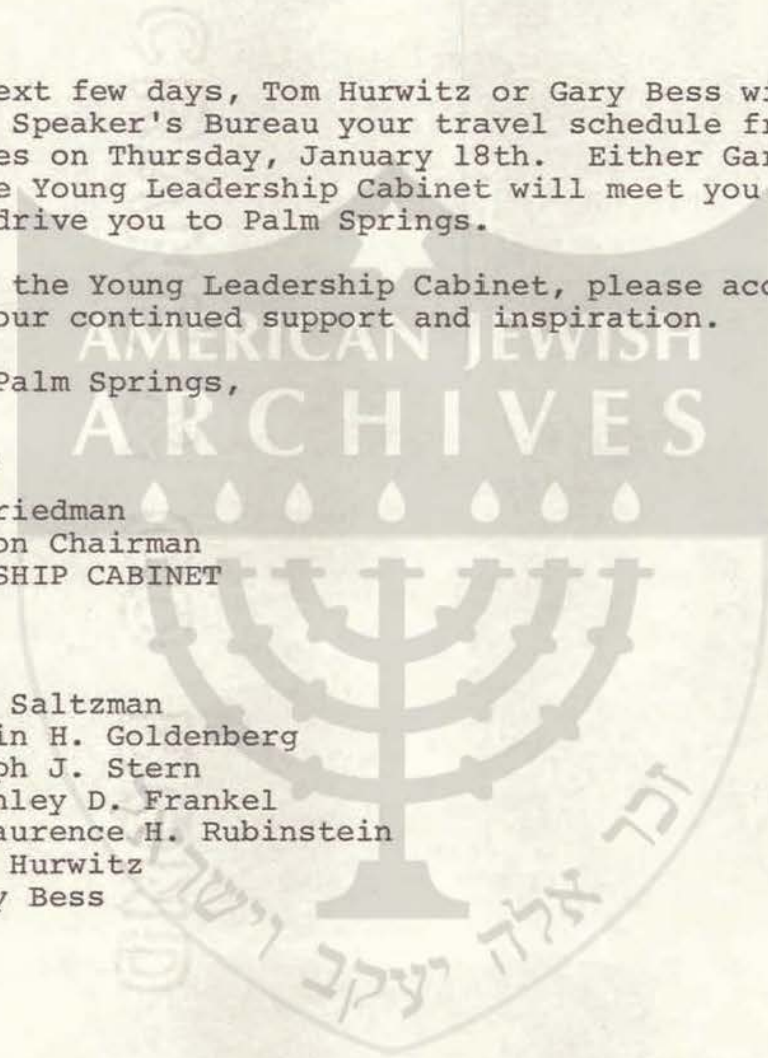
L'hitraot B'Palm Springs,



Richard S. Friedman
Western Region Chairman
YOUNG LEADERSHIP CABINET

RSF:jpd

cc: Mr. Jan Saltzman
Mr. Irwin H. Goldenberg
Mr. Ralph J. Stern
Mr. Stanley D. Frankel
Rabbi Laurence H. Rubinstein
Mr. Tom Hurwitz
Mr. Gary Bess



July 12, 1979

HIGHLIGHTS OF RECENT NEWS AND EVENTS

1980: KEYSTONE CAMPAIGN OF A DECADE

A new era in American Jewish community fundraising was ushered in at the CJF Quarterly in Denver. The national leadership of UJA and CJF called upon federations to plan and carry out a 1980 campaign of unprecedented peacetime dimensions, and to set the standards for the decade of the 1980's. The dimensions were described by UJA National Chairman Irwin S. Field:

"This 1980 campaign we are approaching is complex and challenging and may be the toughest we have ever faced. In the past -- despite our best intentions, despite our sense of pride, our feelings of unity, our readiness to take on every challenge -- our campaigns in non-war years have shown an average national increase of only two percent each year ... In 1980 and in the decade of the 80's, we must move off that plateau and we must move off fast and far. We need to conduct a campaign of a different sort, in a different manner, with a different attitude, a different approach.

"This is no longer business as usual, doing what we did in 1976 and 1977 and 1978. It is not a single issue campaign. It is a campaign in which the issues are vast and interlocked and yet as clear as headlines: transition to peace, Jewish migration, inflation here and in Israel, Project Renewal ... Every one affects Jewish life here at home as well as in Israel. Every one is worthy of a separate campaign. Combined, they challenge us to a magnitude of increased giving we have never before attained.

"Can we do it? Do we have the capacity to mount that kind of campaign? CJF President Morton Mandel and I believe we can. We believe that, working together in a new spirit of cooperation and endeavor, the American Jewish community can unite to accept the issues, the magnitude and the responsibilities of 1980."

* * *

NOW, MORE THAN EVER, WE ARE ONE

In Denver, CJF leaders called on federations to close ranks in a 1980 campaign of heightened unity. Albert Ratner reminded delegates of the American Jewish community's potential for a campaign far in excess of 1980 needs:

"If the lowest per capita communities in North America contributed the same average gifts as the highest per capita communities, we would have raised \$1 billion this year, not less than half a billion.

"Do any of us believe there are only 6,655 Jews in North America who can give \$10,000 or more ... less than a thousand who can give \$50,000 or more ... only 22 who can give \$500,000 or more ... and only six who can give \$1 million or more? I know we can find a way to meet our total needs. Because we care, because we have a heart and because we have a heritage, what we will do together will be awesome."

Martin E. Citrin, Chairman, CJF Advisory Committee on Campaign Planning, epitomized the spirit of Denver with this call for strength and unity to match the demands of the 1980 campaign:

"We do not approach this task from a position of weakness, but from strength. Our army of committed givers and workers has performed prodigies in the past. Now we are challenged to bring into our work a new sense of mission, a new dynamic ... a new unity in which national leaders fully understand local responsibilities, local leaders fully understand overseas responsibilities and both treat all needs as their own ... We are trying to make Israel secure while we strengthen Jewish life around the world and here at home. This is unity at its best."

ARCHIVES
* * *
FIVE KEYS TO CAMPAIGN '80

Following the historic Denver meeting, UJA and CJF volunteer and professional leadership have been engaged in a crucial process of consultation and planning with federations across the country. This dialogue, continuing through the summer, is focusing around five key words, developed at the UJA National Campaign Policy Board annual meeting in May, for carrying out the intensive special effort needed in the keystone campaign: earlier ... education ... training ... mass ... parallel.

Earlier -- Discussion in depth with leadership during the summer, to create awareness of campaign dimensions and obtain individual and community agreement to assume responsibility for meeting them.

Education -- Take nothing for granted, not even leadership awareness of the four campaign issues and their impact on Jewish life everywhere.

Training -- Train people to campaign: not to be order takers, accepting whatever is offered, but to be communicators, advocates, inspirers.

Mass -- As we responded in war, so should we respond in this critical year of transition to peace -- which means sensitizing all elements in our communities to the issues and to the importance of doing more to meet them.

Parallel -- Instead of reaching out one level at a time, 1980 requires moving along all tracks at the same time, for maximum coverage and maximum response.

SMALLER ISRAEL ^{MINTZ}

Et Anish - etc.

DANGERS-RISKS

terrorism
war
~~social~~ foreign workers
Palestinian state

I BRING A
MESSAGE OF
WARNING AND
OF HOPE

OPPORTUNITIES

reduced military budget
economic stability
Russians take in more immigrants
solve social problems

PEACE COSTS MORE THAN WAR

WHAT YOU MUST DO

pour in money
go on missions
lend political support
Keep your Federation strong

Chicago
Physicians
May 30,
1979

I WANT TO BRING BACK A
MESSAGE OF COMMITMENT & LOVE

Air Base Builders Chosen

The Army Corps of Engineers has chosen two consortiums of contractors for the \$1-billion job of building two new Israeli air bases in the Negev desert. The new bases will replace Sinai bases Israel is giving up as part of its peace treaty with Egypt.

One of the consortiums selected is Negev Airbase Constructors, a joint venture of the Perini Corp. of Framingham, Mass.; Harbart Construction Corp. of Birmingham, Ala.; Paul N. Howard Co. of Greensboro, N.C.; and Louis Berger International, Inc. of East Orange, N.J.

The other consortium is Air Base Constructors, a joint venture of the Guy S. Atkinson Co. of San Francisco; the Billingham Corp. of Honolulu; the Nello L. Teer Co. of Durham, N.C.; and Tippetts-Abbett-MacCarthy-Stratton of New York.

The Army said work will begin immediately on the bases, which are to be operational within three years—the time at which the last Israeli troops are to withdraw from Sinai. □

May 25, 79

David Patterson
London 14 May 79

Starting point of modern history is

Holocaust

2000 communities wiped out - with all ^{offspring}

BIRTH + GROWTH OF ISRAEL

has changed whole balance of Jewish life.

RESURGENCE OF JEWISH LIFE IN RUSSIA

should be Nobel Prize for courage.

Creative dissidents becoming Hebrew teachers.
700 seminars in miserable flats on Elizer ^{ben Yehuda}

REMARKABLE COMMUNITY in U.S.

much more confident than British Jewry
politically important + powerful

50-60,000 Jewish students taking Jewish studies
out of this quantity will come quality
by and large, great vitality

EMERGENCE OF ORIENTAL JEWRY

in Israel, 60%

EUROPE

Jewish life starting to strike roots again,
esp. in France. also other places

ANGLO-JEWRY

well organized, traditions, talented
but Jewish education is abysmal

This is wealthy community, which
neglects its youth. ^{Jewish} Education is not high
priority.

Culture filters down, not up.
The most important part of the social
pyramid is the apex.

Example - teaching of Latin + Greek -
70 posts in Latin at Oxford; 2 1/2 posts in
Hebrew (and this from a base where first
Hebrew chair was founded by Henry VIII 400 years
ago). If no Hebrew at apex, nothing
will filter down.

The resources are here (50 mill £
spent in a decade on weddings + Bar mitzvas) -
The sense of priority is not.

Amsterdam - 250 years ago -
BTZ Hayim school - last 2 years all in
Hebrew

If you want to know about the future,
look at the present. No Edmunds really
might guarantee no future.

ISRAEL - age 31 - crossroads
U.S. - 1776 - 1812 - age 36

memo N.J.
April 29, 79

MESSAGE OF DANGER + OF HOPE

THE WAR WITH EGYPT IS OVER, AFTER 30 YEARS.

A. NOW ISRAEL WILL SHRINK

A TUNNEL WILL BE DUG UNDER THE SUEZ CANAL

SWEET WATER FROM THE NILE WILL BE BROUGHT OVER

2 MILLION EGYPTIANS ARE SLOTTED TO LIVE IN SINAI BY CENTURY'S END

B. OTHER RISKS SET IN:

1. more terrorism

2. regional strategic obligations

3. burdensome U.S. presence (So. Korean workers in Neger)

4. an Arab state in the west bank

5. war by the "rejection front"

C. BUT HOPE GIVES RISE TO NEW CHANCES + POSSIBILITIES:

1. eventual reduction of military burden

2. economic stability - productivity - exports - general prosperity

3. solving social problems

4. taking more immigration - less emigration

5. reassertion of moral and spiritual values which have eroded.

D. WHAT MUST AMERICAN JEWS DO?

1. No false sense of security - { Knowledge that peace costs more than war
- U.S. paying for peace.

2. Redouble efforts to make Israel strong - more manpower, know-how, money

3. Enable Israel to take more immigrants from Russia, Iran, Turkey

4. Assist solve social gap - Project Renewal

5. Strengthen Federations at home

E. A GREAT PEOPLE ACTS NOBLY!

COURAGE, FAITH, STEADFASTNESS!

ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY!

DESTINY SUMMONS TO A BRILLIANT FUTURE!

SIGN YOUR CARDS - CHANGE YOUR DECISIONS

THE TIME APPROACH
REQUIRES THE JEWISH
PEOPLE TO BUILD
TOGETHER FOR PEACE!

local (metro N.J.) Russian Jewish resettlement

500	2,500	per person
11,250		10,000
1000		per family
2500		
		Israel
		*40,000

April 1977

Peace with Egypt involves grave dangers for Israel:

1. Shrinkage to the pre-1967 borders
2. Heavy dependency on the U.S.
3. a possible PLO-dominated Palestinian state
4. a new American-equipped Egyptian army
5. growing Arab financial and political power
6. a strengthened Iraqi-Syrian eastern front.

The Israelis will gradually learn to live with linkage

But they are not yet ready for any more territorial concessions

A period of respite is needed now

1. to prevent a swelling of the rejectionist coalition inside Israel
2. to stop the growing constellation on the right
3. to help stabilize the Israeli political system
4. to reverse the deterioration of Israeli-American relations

The U.S. must adopt a more gradualist diplomacy, even as it wants to satisfy Arab (particularly Saudi) interests, and resolve the Palestinian problem.

II. THIS IS A TIME FOR HOPE (MANY CHANCES)

let imagination run free as to how wonderful
peace could be - no war; open borders; normalization
economic stability; eventual reduction of military burden;
solving social problems; taking more immigrants; increasing exports

I. THIS IS A TIME FOR REALISM (MANY RISKS)

more terrorism; Russian intervention; regional
strategic obligations; American (So. Korean) presence
which could be burdensome; Arab state in west bank;
war by "rejection front"

WHAT GUARANTEE THAT CHANCES WILL OUTWEIGHT RISKS?

NONE - But ~~we~~ ^{Israel's} are willing to try.

III. What MUST ^{American Jews do} WE DO? NO FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY! NO LAXNESS! PEACE COSTS MORE THAN WAR!!!!

1. Redouble efforts to make Israel strong - with manpower, knowhow + money.
2. More immigrants will come to Israel from Russia, Iran, Turkey. Enable Israel to take them.
3. Assist with social welfare gap - Project Renewal
4. Strengthen communities at home - Federation.

More MONEY; POLITICAL EFFORT; PUBLIC RELATIONS, to explain how important Israel is to U.S., west, peace.

A GREAT PEOPLE ACTS NOBLY!

COURAGE, FAITH, STEADFASTNESS!

ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY!

DESTINY SUMMONS TO A BRILLIANT FUTURE!

FRIDAY, APRIL 13, 1979

Letters

Mideast Treaty, in Dollars

To the Editor:

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, I am particularly sensitive to the issues raised by President Carter's pledges in support of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. I have noted, however, that the terms "aid" and "assistance" have allowed considerable confusion in media and public discussion of the settlement.

It has been widely reported that the package will cost the United States \$4.8 billion. This is not true.

The President is proposing supplemental assistance of less than \$1.5 billion over the next four years. The balance of the package will be in form of interest-bearing loans. The assistance package can be itemized as follows:

- The United States will underwrite military resettlement costs to Israel to the extent of \$800 million. This represents far less than Israel's estimates of the costs of relocating its defense perimeters in the Negev desert.

- The United States will make avail-

able to Israel \$2.2 billion in military sales credit financing — loans having an interest rate expected to be between 9 percent and 10 percent per year. Israel has a perfect record of repaying loans on time with full payment of interest. It has repaid without default almost \$2 billion in loans to the U.S. Government and approximately the same amount to holders of State of Israel bonds.

- The United States will make available to Egypt \$1.8 billion, of which \$300 million will be economic aid (the mix of grants and loans is yet to be determined) and \$1.5 billion in the form of interest-bearing loans for military sales.

- Of the \$3.7 billion in loans for military sales financing, only 10 percent will come from the United States Treasury. The rest will come from the Federal Financing Bank and will not affect taxes or the Federal budget.

MICHAEL D. BARNES
Member of Congress, 8th Dist., Md.
Washington, April 6, 1979



The PLO's latest crime against humanity can perhaps be best understood by recalling a passage describing a similar death of a child. It comes from John Hersey's *The Wall*, a novel about the Warsaw Ghetto uprising when Jews hid in sewers and bunkers:

"The baby might summon the Germans . . . Rutka by now had given up all special efforts to still the child and was merely holding him with his face to her breast and was rocking back and forth . . . [The baby] howled . . . suddenly the child was silent . . . Rutka did not know until the infant's cheek grew cold against her breast that it was dead."

A sovereign and secure Israel will guarantee that there will be no more ghetto massacres. But the events in Nahariya show the murderous affinity between the Nazi butchers of then and the PLO of now. The media failure to label the perpetrators for what they are indicates a tragic moral failure.

—LEONARD J. DAVIS

The Process of Peace

April 10, 79

I CHANCE

- a. for absence of war
- b. full normalization

May 26 - El Arish - open borders
 one month ahead of schedule
 Dec 26 - pull out of Sinai
 Jan 26 - exchange ambassadors

II RISKS

A. External

1. disappointment in Egypt leading to change in regime
2. increased terrorism
3. "rejection front" - potential threat of war 5000 tanks
1000 planes
4. difficulties with U.S.
5. autonomy carries the seed of a Palestinian political entity

B. Internal

1. false sense of security and laxity - lowering the guard
2. grave economic problems - driving inflation spiral upwards
3. living with dichotomy - watching for risks, while trying to advance ^{normalization}

WHAT GUARANTEE THAT CHANCES WILL OUTFEIGH RISK? NONE.

BUT, ALTERNATIVE OF NOT TAKING CHANCE ON PEACE, WOULD BE
WAR IN YEAR OR TWO WITH ALL ARAB STATES.

U.S. willing to take chance

III. OPPORTUNITIES

Russian Jews

- For Israel - QUOTE
- for the free world
- for the whole Jewish people to help in this next jump of development. We got past the Holocaust, the fragile beginning, the wars - now on to full independence and freedom. Now glorious it will be!

PEACE WILL COST MORE THAN WAR - BUT WE SHOULD PAY IT GLADLY.

Jews + non-Jewish friends circle.

Opportunity for what?

For resuscitating the predominance of moral and spiritual values over gross and exaggerated material achievements. For upholding the work ethic of pioneering days in an end-of-the-20th century mould. For maintaining the highest possible standards of behavior in public life. For bowing to the common interest even when it hurts our private or sectarian interest. But on the other hand for displaying full consideration, understanding and even compassion for the legitimate problems of the individual. For eliminating violence and crime in all its forms, whether physical, economic or political, or whether expressed in the crass and brutal use of influence to further already highly inflated interests. For practicing patience and tolerance towards each other. For harnessing all our intellectual resources to reinforce the chance, minimize the risk and exploit the opportunity. For stopping the national rampage of waste in almost every area of activity, carefully husbanding our physical resources and using them judiciously. For utilizing our improved political position in order to refurbish our ties with former friends in the world.

HIGHLIGHTS OF RECENT NEWS AND EVENTSDAYS OF REDEDICATION

Celebrating Passover and preparing to count the days to Shavuot, our hopes are buoyed by the treaty which has started the people of Israel on the road to peace. This historic achievement, however, does not invite us to relax our efforts to strengthen Jewish life in our time; it challenges us instead to rededicate ourselves to that goal. We are therefore determined to do what we have never been able to do before... by concluding the 1979 campaign at levels of increase above those attained in the first half of the campaign. In these days of rededication, we are facing four clear imperatives - four areas of heavy cost increase in our human support programs - which demand our all-out effort.

1. The "cost of peace." The physical costs of withdrawal and re-deployment will severely burden Israel's already sorely pressed people. The reconstruction will increase inflationary pressures. American aid will only partly meet these physical costs, and none of it will be applied to satisfying the rising human needs. It's our job, through an intensified campaign, to strengthen the Jewish Agency's absorption and resettlement services.
2. Increased Soviet Jewish emigration. The number of Jews leaving the Soviet Union will rise sharply this year; as many as 50,000 may emerge from oppression. Almost all of them, in about equal numbers, will be coming to Israel and the United States. Some of our communities will be receiving two and three times the number they were privileged to accept last year. Meeting that additional resettlement cost is another major challenge - and opportunity - for our community campaigns.
3. Rising inflation. In Israel, where an inflation rate that neared 50 percent last year will be accelerated by treaty-mandated construction, all social service and education programs in the national budget will be trimmed... and the Jewish Agency will be trying to take up the slack in the face of that same severe inflation. Here at home, continually rising inflation - attacking our ability to meet the added Soviet Jewish resettlement costs and maintain our local programs and services at maximum human-support level - calls for a major response.
4. Project Renewal: our "bridge to peace." With the beginning of peace, expectations are soaring among the immigrant families in Israel's distressed neighborhoods. They want their full share of the brighter future ahead and are working hard and diligently in their neighborhood action committees to secure it. Our swift, massive and continual aid, through Project Renewal, is vital to their hopes: a bridge to that peacetime future they so rightfully demand and so richly deserve.

TOOLS OF REDEDICATION

To help communities carry out their second-half rededication campaigns, a full range of national UJA support services has been mobilized. National leaders are prepared, on virtually an around-the-clock basis, to assist in solicitation and resolicitation of major gifts, and in approaches to previous non-givers and under-givers... Printed materials - ads, brochures, draft letters, fact sheets, etc. - are available... Live hookups from New York and Jerusalem with officials at the Rome nerve center of Soviet migration are on standby to meet community requests... UJA Rabbinic Cabinet is supplying rabbis with sermonic materials on campaign issues for 49 Days of Counting from Passover to Shavuot... All lines of communication established during Dialogue/'79 remain open, and any requested community consultations can be arranged swiftly.

REDEDICATION IN ACTION

Orange County, Calif. - An outstanding breakthrough here shows that concerned American Jews are ready to accept the extra dimension in giving demanded by rededication: a \$1,800 contributor has pledged \$275,000 for 1979; division between regular campaign and Project Renewal to be determined.

Philadelphia created an "I Pledged for Peace" campaign with a continuing Phonathon, and thousands of bumper stickers and store window decals distributed; special effort was widely covered in general press. Planning all-out resolicitation of major gifts, with national leadership participation.

Los Angeles initiated "30 Days of Rededication" with April 3 dinner tribute to Golda Meir; using slogan of NO BUSINESS AS USUAL! and marking off 30 days on huge banner at federation headquarters. Called in local agency directors and presidents to discuss increased cost issues and underline importance to them of stepped-up campaign effort.

Miami held peace convocation, heavily attended by media, in conjunction with Rabbinical Association; Passover material carried heading: "All of Israel's Problems Are Now Solved -- If You Think That, Think Again"; radio spot campaign proclaims: "War costs lives, peace costs money."

Milwaukee has scheduled intensified Tele-Pledge drive, April 22-27; called in all associate campaign and division chairmen for comprehensive reassignment of cards; plans a Rome hookup for April 24 (Yom Hashoa) report meeting.

San Francisco is organizing a "Week of Rededication," April 30-May 4.

Hartford added a community-wide interfaith peace observance on treaty night to a highly successful celebrity telethon two weeks before, creating solidly broadened base for increased lower level giving.

CALENDAR UPDATE: REDEDICATION OPPORTUNITIES

April 24: Yom Hashoa/Memorial Day for Holocaust Martyrs. Both houses of Congress will adjourn for one hour at noon for special memorial program with address by President Jimmy Carter and response by Elie Wiesel; some state legislatures holding remembrance services. Presents opportunities for wide range of local programs; Los Angeles holding candlelight march from Yeshiva U. Simon Wiesenthal Center on the Holocaust to federation building.

April 28-29: National "Days of Remembrance." Proclaimed by President Carter on recommendation of Committee on the Holocaust. Several UJA films, including last year's "From Destruction to Redemption," highly appropriate for meetings on these days. For rental information, contact Buzz Warren.

May 2: Yom Haatzmaut/Israel Independence Day. Target date for Days of Rededication in many communities. Unique UJA Haggadah for Independence Day available for special family or community seders; order from Larry Siegel. Department of Creative and Educational Events will arrange mini-dramatic programs; contact Issachar Miron.

May 6: UJA National Walk-A-Thon. About 200 communities to "Walk as One on the Road to Renewal"; some converting to "Road to Peace," others marking off Rededication Route... Norwalk, Conn. petitioning town council to establish "United Jewish Appeal Street" for day; Cleveland adding jogathon and encouraging two- and three-generation family walks. For assistance and information, contact Steve Schiffman.

May 24: Yom Yerushalayim/Jerusalem Reunification Day. Peace process heightens significance of united Jerusalem, politically and symbolically. Many communities adopting date for campaign closing.

THE WORLD WE LIVE IN

As we look back in remembrance of oppression, and ahead with rededication to renewing Jewish life, we continue to live in a world largely indifferent or hostile. A world where many refuse to remember and others are dedicated only to oppressing Jewish life. Where neo-fascist Italian youths at a basketball game scream "Jews into the oven!"... where Austrian Chancellor Kreisky cautions viewers of the TV "Holocaust" not to judge Germans of the time "without knowing of the pain that is haunting them"... where a third year of imposed silence begins for Anatoly Shcharansky -- and where Ida Nudel, living in terrifying conditions in a Siberian exile camp, sleeps with a knife under her pillow, to take her own life if need be.

ALBERT EINSTEIN: 1879-1979

This year marks the centenary of the birth of Albert Einstein, the century's greatest figure and a deeply concerned son of the Jewish people. Einstein always remembered the Holocaust he escaped and gave generously of his time and energy to raising funds for Israel's people. He was Honorary President of the first UJA campaign in 1939 and lent his name and prestige to many Princeton fundraising events.

At one dinner - recalls Ralph J. Kaplan of Los Angeles, the guest speaker that evening - Einstein made this typically wise and perceptive statement: "When I first published my Theory of Relativity, it was just a theory not yet proven. I had no doubts that should my theory prove correct, the Germans would acclaim me as their countryman and the French would call me a citizen of the world. If my theory, however, had been proven wrong, the French would have called me a German and the Germans a Jew."

QUOTES

Israel alone is called upon for a traumatic surgical experience, required to dismantle naval installations, uproot airfields, give up direct access to an oil supply, remove settlers from new and cherished homes and renounce the strategic depth on which we have largely relied for a sense of security over the past 11 years... We are prepared to make those sacrifices because of the immense benefits involved. The "price of peace" can never reach such dimensions as to equal the smallest fraction of war's deadly cost.

Abba S. Eban

Peace is not absence of war. It is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice.

Benedict Spinoza

What we need to discover in the social realm is the moral equivalent of war; something heroic that will speak to men as universally as war does, and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves as war has proved itself to be incompatible.

William James

The cry of "Let my people go!" has survived the ages -- from the days of the Pharaohs to the final demise of the Nazis and the creation of the Jewish homeland. It will never be silenced.

John C. Sawhill
President, N.Y.U.

Man is here for the sake of other men... for those upon whose smile and well being our own happiness depends... and also for the countless unknown souls with whose fate we are connected.

Albert Einstein

Judaism is not a science of nature but a science of what man ought to do with nature. It is concerned above all with the problem of living. It takes deeds more seriously than things. Jewish law is, in a sense, a science of deeds.

Abraham Joshua Heschel

202 -

456-2850

Dr. Bluzman



Not a question of a choice between danger & safety. An agreement involves both, as would lack of an agreement.

Back from the brink,

(1)

into a perilous unknown.

Sadat calls it a "process of peace" which will gradually awaken the interest of other Arab countries and bring them in in in certainly life so.

U.S. no longer a mediator but a full partner to E. & I. with a direct stake in all future bargaining. (US bases in E. & I. ?)

Avoidance of another war is a major benefit for the cost.

Each of the Arab-Israel wars raised the level of damage for the rest of the world.

Youngstown - March 22 - Cleveland - March 25, 74

What is the cost?

(2)

U.S. arms to Egypt-Israel

- 3 b. to Israel (2.2 - loans, .8 - grants)
for costs of withdrawal from Sinai
over 3 years
- 1.8 b. for current military +
economic aid
- 2 b. to Egypt (more if Saudia
backs down in its support) for
destroyers, planes, tanks, anti-aircraft
- .750 bn. to Egypt in current
economic aid

Egypt wanted

- 300 F-16
- 600 tanks
- 500 artillery pieces
- 2000 A.P.C.
- destroyers
- submarines
- 20,000 jeeps + trucks

Israel wants F-15 delivered early
early-warning detection gear for Nagav

Fear of Syria - Iraq hit

What are
the

Terms

1a. Start in one month to negotiate on
meaning of autonomy in West Bank

(3)

1. withdraw from El Aush
within 3 months after signing
2. withdraw to line El Aush -
Ras Muhammad after 9 months
3. exchange ambassadors after 10 months.
4. negotiations on Arab self-rule in
Gaza + West Bank to be completed
in 12 months.
5. Sinai airfields to be used by
Egypt for civilian purposes only
6. Free passage through Suez.
Tiran + Gulf of Akaba are international
waterways.

What are the

CHANCES?

1. meeting in Iraq next Tuesday
 2. attitude of Saudia crucial
 3. E. may lose some Ambassadors in first week
after signing - as I. did in '73
- GOOD - if we are flexible

What do we have to do?

Tasks for American + world Jewry:

- 1.) Redouble efforts to make Israel strong - with manpower, knowhow, + money
- 2.) More immigrants will come from Russia, Iran, ^{Turkey} + other countries. Help absorb them
- 3.) Assist with social welfare gap - Project Renewal
- 4.) Strengthen communities at home - Federate for a stronger Jewish consciousness.

MORE MONEY — 2000 — not 2200
 3000 — " 3300

MORE POLITICAL EFFORT

MORE PUBLIC RELATIONS to explain how important Israel is to U.S., west, and peace.

Peroration:

(5)

TIME FOR REJOICING

perhaps we enter a time of the ending of war
and a new beginning

TIME FOR HARD WORK

better productivity, more trade, rebuild defenses

TIME FOR

HOPE

let imagination
run free as to
how wonderful
place could be

TIME FOR

REALISM

- anticipate more terrorism
- Russian intervention
- regional pact obligations
- American presence which
could be burdensome
independent Arab states
in west bank

A GREAT PEOPLE
TAKES GREAT RISKS

COURAGE, FAITH, PERSISTENCE

STEARDFASTNESS - [Believe!
ACT!]

DESTINY LIES WITH US

ASSUME

~~DO~~ YOUR RESPONSIBILITY!
BE PROUD - MAKE YOUR KIDS PROUD!

MAILGRAM FROM IRWIN FIELD TO CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN
AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

THE FOLLOWING MAILGRAM HAS BEEN SENT TO ALL CAMPAIGN
CHAIRMEN AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS.

MARCH 25 MEETING WITH BIG 16 CAMPAIGN LEADERS DISCUSSING INTENSIFIED
SECOND HALF CAMPAIGN FOCUSED ON FOLLOWING ISSUES AND RESOURCES
FOR FINISHING 1979 CAMPAIGN AT HIGHEST LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT.

PERIOD BEGINNING APRIL 1 AND EXTENDING TO ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE DAY
ON MAY 2 SHOULD BE "30 DAYS OF REDEDICATION" TO INFORM AND
STIMULATE LEADERSHIP TO CONCLUDE CAMPAIGN AT LEVELS OF INCREASE
AT LEAST EQUAL TO THOSE ACHIEVED IN FIRST HALF.

ISSUES:

1. COST OF PEACE.
2. PROJECT RENEWAL AS BRIDGE TO PEACE.
3. IMPACT OF SOVIET JEWISH IMMIGRATION.
4. INCREASED COSTS OF LOCAL SERVICES.

RESOURCES:

1. NATIONAL LEADERS AVAILABLE TO COMMUNITIES TO SOLICIT \$10,000
PLUS GIFTS STILL OUT.
2. NATIONAL LEADERS TO MAKE DIRECT CONTACT FOR RESOLICITATION OF
\$10,000 PLUS GIFTS ALREADY CONCLUDED AT SAME VALUE AS '78 OR LESS,
AS PER COMMUNITY REQUEST.
3. CALLS FROM NATIONAL LEADERS IN TRADES OR DIVISIONS TO YOUR
BIG GIFTS, WOMEN'S DIVISION AND/OR TRADES DIVISIONS CHAIRMEN, PER
YOUR REQUEST, TO OFFER ASSISTANCE IN INDIVIDUAL SOLICITATIONS.
4. TELEVISION PICTURE PHONE AVAILABLE FOR FACE TO FACE COMMUNICA-
TIONS WITH ISRAELI OR U.S. CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS OR OTHER NATIONAL

FIELD MAILGRAM - 2.

LEADERS AT FOLLOWING CENTERS TO WHICH LOCAL LEADERS CAN BE BROUGHT: NEW YORK, ATLANTA, WASHINGTON, D.C., LOS ANGELES, SAN FRANCISCO AND CHICAGO.

5. DIRECT TELEPHONE HOOKUP FROM ROME OR ISRAEL WITH SENIOR OFFICIALS INVOLVED IN SOVIET JEWISH IMMIGRATION.

6. NATIONAL OFFICERS AND PRESIDENTS OF UJA, CJF, JDC, UIA AND JEWISH AGENCY READY TO VISIT YOUR COMMUNITY FOR MEETINGS TO ACCELERATE CAMPAIGN.

7. SPECIFIC PUBLIC RELATIONS MATERIALS ON ABOVE ISSUES IN PROCESS, INCLUDING ADS, BROCHURES, LETTERS, POSTERS. WILL BE AVAILABLE IN APRIL.

8. SPECIAL CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS MISSION PROPOSED TO ROME AND ISRAEL FOR STUDY OF IMMIGRATION SITUATION IN ORDER TO GIVE FIRSTHAND REPORT TO EACH COMMUNITY.

9. MEETINGS CALLED BY CHAIRMEN AND FEDERATION PRESIDENTS OF ALL COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING CAMPAIGN, SYNAGOGUE, AND FEDERATION AGENCIES IN ORDER TO REVIEW WITH THEM FOUR ISSUES LISTED ABOVE, AND ESPECIALLY COST OF SOVIET IMMIGRATION.

EVENTS:

1. PASSOVER -- ALL RABBIS BEING ASKED TO HELP SET CAMPAIGN CLIMATE WITH HOLIDAY SERMONS IN EFFORT TO REACH ALL FAMILIES DURING PASSOVER IN SYNAGOGUES AND HOMES. BROCHURE AVAILABLE FOR SYNAGOGUE DISTRIBUTION PLUS "FIFTH QUESTION" IN PREPARATION FOR HOME SEDERS.

2. DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE, APRIL 22-29 -- ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT CARTER'S COMMISSION OF HOLOCAUST. WEEK INCLUDES:

A) YOM HASHOA, APRIL 24 -- OBSERVED IN ISRAEL AS TRIBUTE TO SIX MILLION MARTYRS OF THE HOLOCAUST.

B) NATIONAL IMPORTANCE OF THIS DATE UNDERLINED BY CEREMONIES PLANNED FOR CAPITAL ROTUNDA WITH BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS.

3. YOM HAATZMAUT, MAY 2 -- ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE DAY CARRIES SPECIAL MEANING AS FIRST IN 30 YEARS WITH PROSPECTS FOR PEACE. CAN BE MAJOR TARGET FOR CAMPAIGN, WITH INDEPENDENCE DAY HAGGADAH PREVIOUSLY SENT OUT.

4. JERUSALEM DAY, MAY 24-25 -- ANNIVERSARY OF REUNIFICATION OF JERUSALEM OBSERVED HERE MAY 24, IN ISRAEL MAY 25. POSSIBLE CAMPAIGN CLOSING DATES WITH EXTRAORDINARY MEANING THIS YEAR BECAUSE OF JERUSALEM'S SPECIAL ROLE IN PEACE PROCESS.

(To Headquarter Cities)

I WILL CALL YOU IN NEXT FEW DAYS TO GET YOUR REACTIONS TO ABOVE ITEMS AND OTHER SUGGESTIONS YOU HAVE IN ORDER TO DETERMINE ACTIONS WE SHOULD TAKE TOGETHER TO SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDE '79 CAMPAIGN BY MEETING GREAT NEEDS FACING US AT HOME AND OVERSEAS.

(To All Other Federated Cities)

PLEASE CALL ME WITH YOUR REACTIONS TO ABOVE ITEMS AND OTHER SUGGESTIONS YOU HAVE IN ORDER TO DETERMINE ACTIONS WE SHOULD TAKE TOGETHER TO SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDE '79 CAMPAIGN BY MEETING GREAT NEEDS FACING US AT HOME AND OVERSEAS.

#

DIRECT MAIL PIECE - Project Renewal

Dear Friend:

There are 200,000 Jewish children "out there" - a little lost, troubled and apprehensive - living in areas of distress. They see a life of frustration for themselves if they stay where they are, living under the same conditions they have always had. They want to find a real home and future in Israel. Will you help them?

Of course you will. No question. But where is "out there"? Russia? Iran? Some other country of Jewish distress? No. They're in Israel. And they need your support just as urgently as any homeless children who may have wandered the streets and byways of Europe, Africa or Asia.

I'm referring to the 200,000 children in the 160 distressed neighborhoods in Israel chosen for rehabilitation through Project Renewal. They live in substandard overcrowded housing in areas with inadequate community facilities and limited social services. They feel themselves outside the mainstream of life in Israel and they want back in.

For three decades, these youngsters and their parents have been patiently waiting - waiting for housing where they won't have to live four and six to a room, waiting for community centers so they won't just be "hanging around" and most important of all, waiting to see if anyone cares.

Project Renewal is our way of helping them help themselves. And it's beginning to work right now, as teenagers participate in the grass roots planning taking place, working out approaches to getting the facilities and services they need to back up the new or improved housing when it comes.

Menachem Begin told us that since a peace treaty has been signed, the future of these youngsters is his number one priority. Yigal Yadin has said that Project Renewal is of greater importance to Israel than 100 jet fighter planes.

Think about it. If those 200,000 children were wandering among the hovels or alley ways of turbulent lands, wouldn't you eagerly support a community campaign to bring them to Israel?

Now that peace has been achieved, those who have waited so long, so patiently, so quietly, for a better life will not wait any longer. Your Project Renewal contribution (which is over and above your regular 1979 campaign gift) represents your personal bridge to peace.

Let's join together in making it as substantial as possible. For the seeds we plant today will determine the health and security of Israel for generations to come.

Dear Friend:

As the process of peace begins, Israel's internal enemy -- inflation -- becomes more threatening. Spiralling prices in Israel are shaking the economic stability of the entire country and devastating the lifestyle of the average Israeli family. The price of bread and milk have risen almost 50 percent and the consumer price index has gone up 22 percent since the first of the year. Gasoline has soared to \$3.00 a gallon. If inflation continues at it's current pace, it could go beyond 80 percent by the end of 1979. And large-scale construction spending connected with the withdrawal from Sinai will create more inflationary pressure.

The near-runaway inflation will seriously hamper the immigrant absorption programs of the Jewish Agency, supported by our community campaign dollars. It keeps costing more to house a new immigrant from Russia or Iran, to provide an elderly person with a hot meal, to train a troubled youngster in a Youth Aliya Center.

As Americans, we too have experienced the damaging effects of inflation over the last few years. As we watch prices rise around us, we watch an ever shrinking dollar unable to keep up with the cost increases. We are concerned, irritated, baffled -- but most of us can withstand it. But what about our fellow Jews right here in need of our community services and programs?

Inflation is their enemy -- as implacable as it is in Israel.

Our elderly, our handicapped, our troubled youngsters, our broken families. They are helpless in the face of rising costs that will inevitably diminish our outreach aid to them -- unless we make a special, immediate, intensive effort to override the overcosts.

And the Soviet Jewish refugee families who will be coming to us in increasing numbers of this year -- what will we tell them, and how will we square it with our consciences if we can't offer them full and effective resettlement services. They have struggled so long and hard, overcome so much -- must we let them down because we can't lick our inflation problem?

No -- we must and will turn back the threat, reverse the erosion of rising costs and restore and maintain our community services at peak effectiveness...through a great second-effort fundraising campaign.

Do your rightful share. Make a generous increased campaign pledge today -- or, if you have already made one, pledge an additional, maximum sum. The strength and integrity of our campaign are on the line.

#

Dear Friend:

What if you were leaving a country that made your emigration unpleasant, difficult...even dangerous? If you had no money...didn't know exactly where you were going or how to find a job, a place to live...didn't know a single word of the language of your new homeland?

That's what you would be facing if you were one of 40,000 Jews expected to leave the Soviet Union this year. You and your family would have nothing going for you but the hope that "someone" on the free side of the world would help you.

Fortunately, you're not in that position. But you are in a position to be the "someone" who helps. This year, when the Soviet regime -- for whatever reason -- has decided to release an unprecedented number of Jews, that help is needed more than ever.

There are more than 9,500 Soviet Jewish emigrants in Italy awaiting their visas at this very moment. Many of them will come en masse to the United States as soon as their visas are issued. And there are strong indications that from 4,000 to 6,000 Soviet Jews per month will soon be given visas to leave the U.S.S.R. over the coming year. More than 50% will come to the United States where they will need assistance in resettlement.

The strain on the Jewish Agency's absorption services will be enormous -- reaching crisis proportions. The cost of the invaluable services of JDC and HIAS to migrants in transit will rise dramatically. In many communities in America the number of new arrivals will double or triple last year's total.

Here in (community), we are expecting to welcome (number) Soviet Jews in search of free new lives, compared with (number) we were privileged to receive last year. Add the inflated cost of resettlement services and it's clear that our commitment to help meet the cost of Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel and America in 1979 has taken on an entirely new dimension.

Your significantly increased gift to the 1979 community campaign will carry out your share of that commitment to renewed life for Soviet Jews here and in Israel. It will be your way of telling those 40,000 searching fellow Jews that, as they make their historic move, they do have something going for them. YOU.

#

Dear Friend:

The treaty has been signed, the guests have departed, and the move towards peace has begun. What now?

World Jewry responds generously when Israel is threatened. But peace also costs, and the people of Israel need us now more than ever.

The practical aspects of peace will be costly: \$3.5 billion for the initial redeployment of forces from the Sinai; some \$300 million for the resettlement of civilians; an estimated \$160 million a year for alternate oil sources; more than \$600 million for an early warning system to replace the one in the Sinai.

Total cost of withdrawal from the Sinai -- redeployment, reconstruction, replacement of air bases and port facilities -- could run as high as \$10 billion over the next three years.

The people of Israel will have to bear most of these treaty-imposed costs...and the runaway inflation they may bring...and a possible 5% sur-tax. American aid will barely meet half the physical costs of withdrawal -- and none of the human needs.

Overtaxed by the costs of peace, the Israel budget will not stretch to cover human needs. Social services, in fact, may have to be trimmed to combat inflation. Housing, education, immigration absorption youth care and programs for the aged. These are the areas in which we, through the Jewish Agency, will have to provide the help that makes the difference.

We have never provided our full share of the Jewish Agency budget. Now the Agency faces the added human costs of resettlement in the Negev and new settlements in the Galilee.

The cost of the first step towards peace is high. The people of Israel have taken that step courageously and are willing to pay the price.

They cannot do it alone. They need our intensified help. Pledge for peace now!

#

TO: ALL SPEAKERS

3/27/79

FROM: ANNE S. BLACK

SUBJECT: STATEMENT ON PEACE

Enclosed is a Statement on Peace for Speakers that was prepared by our Public Relations Department.

It is very important and necessary that you read it, digest it, and make it a part of every presentation you make on behalf of the New York United Jewish Appeal-Federation Joint Campaign.

Thank you very much.



STATEMENT ON PEACE FOR SPEAKERS

We are of course delighted with the peace agreement that has been signed between Egypt and Israel. We rejoice in the prospect of peace. We can only hope that it will mean a new era for the people of Israel and for all peoples.

It is one thing to rejoice. It is another to lose sight of the grim realities which still confront Jews. For peace brings its own problems. What are these problems? We hear that the United States is to send three billion dollars to Israel. Won't this cover the country's security needs? Alas, no.

The money in part will enable Israel to move its defense apparatus from the Sinai to the Negev and to build new airbases. It will not cover the entire cost of that move which has been estimated at close to ten billion dollars. At the same time the security and stability of the population near Israel's strategic border to the northeast become more important than ever. Settlements whose names became famous all over the world when they were attacked-- settlements like Kiryat Shomona and Ma'alot -- must be made safe and secure against renewed attack.

Yes, the cost of security will be very high. It will cost 600 million dollars for Israel to construct a new early warning system to replace the one being given up in the Sinai. New port facilities will have to be built to accommodate naval patrols in the Gulf of Eilat and the Red Sea. Israel will have to build whole new towns in the Negev in order to provide the services to support new airbases and army bases, new logistic centers, new ammunition dumps and storage facilities. The Yom Kippur War cost five billion dollars and Israel will need ten billion dollars -- twice that amount -- to shore up its security. So, with the Arab world, except for Egypt, threatening war and the destruction of Israel, the cost of defense soars.

Meanwhile, how is Israel to meet the increasing burden of human needs? The Jewish Agency, which receives its funds from the sums raised by Jews all over the world, does not have a single penny in its budget to meet the cost of peace in human terms.

Peace will bring an immediate increase in immigration and the new immigrants

must be absorbed into the country's life and economy. Peace will make it necessary to expand the social services and physical structures for new arrivals in development towns like Dimona, Arad and Mitzpe Rimon.

Peace means that the residents of border settlements like Yamit and the surrounding villages of the Rafiah Region will have to be resettled. This will cost hundreds of millions of dollars. The money raised by the UJA-Federation Joint Campaign must help to meet these newly pressing needs as well as to care for the old and the sick, to train the unskilled, to house those still languishing in temporary shelters, to educate the young, to integrate those who still live in slums and have not yet entered the mainstream of Israel's life.

At the same time, our money must continue to make life bearable for Jews in 25 other lands where the Joint Distribution Committee maintains facilities and to meet the no less pressing needs of the Jewish community here in our own city.

Yes, as the Prime Minister of Israel put it "the people of Israel have now taken a giant step on the road toward ultimate peace within secure borders." But the cost of that peace is very high and it is up to us to help pay that cost.

The Israeli's rejoice but at the same time they are even now making many sacrifices and suffering personal hardship. Let us, the members of the New York Jewish community, show the Israelis and show the world that we are willing to pay the price of peace no matter how high the cost. It is an opportunity and a challenge from which we must not flinch.

YEMEN - 390 m. arms

12 F-5 fighters

64 tanks

50 armored personnel carriers

15-20⁰⁰ technicians

"total for this year would be almost \$540 - to an army with fewer than 1000 soldiers who can read or write" says Rep. Aspin of Wisconsin

State Dept officials said:

"Our response was about right for the situation that confronted us."

A TYPICAL SPEECH FRAMEWORK

1. Holocaust
2. Independence - Statehood
3. Waves of Immigration
4. Wars
5. Israel at Present
 - a.) military
 - b.) economic
 - c.) social

NOTES FOR RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN WHILE MAKING THE LINK GEARED TO TIDEWATER.

a.) WE HAVE TO FLESH OUT OUR VERY SUCCESSFULLY STRUCTURED FEDERATION WITH REAL INTELLECT FROM WHICH WILL FOLLOW REAL INVOLVEMENT. THIS AUDIENCE, ALMOST ALL COLLEGE GRADUATES, DOCTORS, DENTISTS, PROFESSORS, ALL THE PROFESSIONS REPRESENTED ARE PROBABLY WOEFULLY UNPREPARED TO DO OUR JEWISH THING WELL.

1.) It is a dangerous all around us. It always was and probably always will be, but right now we are at a pivotal point. Jews are in danger because they are Jews: Iran, Argentina, the Soviet Union.

Your community has a CRC, a Council on Soviet Jewry, but they involve very few highly committed people. Shouldn't you be part of it? The structure is already there.

2.) You have an opportunity to educate your children and grandchildren in this community in a fine day school which your Federation supports. Your child will learn to speak the Hebrew language in that day school. In a community of 10,000 Jews there are 225 kids in that day school. Is everybody aware and involved in nurturing that community treasure? You have to educate yourselves. Your Federation sponsors an Institute for Jewish Studies where you can learn and make an impact in your own lives. Do you avail yourself of it?

3.) Your community sponsored a Mission of 165 people this past November. Do you understand that no single community in the U. S. of any size, sent so many Jews on a Mission at the same time? Are you organizing to do it again? I bet you can. You must.

4.) Have you developed programs to send your kids to Israel for summer or to study in high school, or to spend a year at a university or on a kibbutz. Each one of us can be involved in developing that experience for every child in the community.

Atlanta
Jan 14, 79

Hollywood

Phila

Jan 6, 79 Jan 10

(1)

1. WHAT WENT WRONG?

- a. Egypt upped demands
 - target date for elections
 - no ambassadors until after elections
 - article 4 - review of Sinai after 5 years
 - article 6 - wants to wedge
- b. Why - hard-line Bagdad meeting, in which Saudi participated
- c. Israel Cabinet refused - will sign U.S. draft of Nov. 11

2. RECRIMINATIONS - Sadat refused to join Begin at Oslo

3. CONFRONTATION between ISRAEL + U.S. - because U.S. tilted toward Egypt

4. STALEMATE - ^{MUSSEINI OPPOSES} efforts will be made in about 10 days to renew discussions - at lower level Atherton + mid-East Jan. 15, followed by meetings in Washington

5. NEW PROBLEM - IRAN cutting oil - Modai says Egypt must guarantee Israeli supply as heretofore - i.e. 20% of Israeli local needs come from Gulf & Suez wells which Israel developed at cost of \$100 m - or no treaty.

STOP - LEAVE WAR + PEACE ALONE - we cannot solve it.

some say - take the deal

others say - no: take the consequences

others say (Allon) - settle for less than full peace - i.e. negotiate slowly, give ^{2/3} Sinai in return for no-war declaration - then progress further

LOOK AT OTHER PROBLEMS - ECONOMIC SITUATION! more dangerous than military - Peace will cost more than war. Stay alert - don't be deluded by false, easy thinking.

Begin at 01/0

Your majesty, your highnesses, members of
The Nobel Peace Prize Committee, ladies & gentlemen:

Allow me to thank you for the
great distinction. It does not, however,
belong to me. It belongs to 'my people' -
The ancient people and renaissance nation
that came back in love and devotion to the
land of its ancestors after centuries of
homelessness and persecution. This prestigious
recognition is due to this people because
they suffered so much, because they lost so
many, because they love peace and want
it with all their hearts for themselves
and their neighbors. On their behalf
I humbly accept this award and in their
name I thank you from the bottom of
my heart.

~~WAR~~

PEACE

1. Why did negotiations break down
2. Recriminations
3. Confrontation with U.S.
4. Stalemate

IRAN

PEACE MORE COSTLY THAN WAR

1. Military Redeployment
2. Civilian Resettlement
3. Increased Russian immigration
4. Project Renewal

GENERATION

} strength of local federation - focal point of Jewish power
} strength depends on people & money
} strength stems from self-respect & pride
} strength - calmness - nerves of steel - eyes on a vision of future: will carry us forward

3 POINTS

1. Peace treaty may or may not come - don't be disappointed

2. Even if it comes, peace will cost more than war

3. Project Renewal will push Israel into its second stage of development

4. Then industrialization into Third stage - by end of century -

THEN A MORAL ~~UNHEALTHY~~ ATMOSPHERE MUST BE CREATED - + THEN WE HAVE SUCCEEDED

1. Military Redeployment into Negev - cost 606 It. - Zippori

- a. Three airbases scheduled for Negev, including one combined civilian-military near Be'er Sheva
- b. new highway from Kerem Shalom to Eilat, parallel to new border
- c. during next 3 years, after treaty, there will be needed in Negev 600 Km. new roads, 200 Km. electric lines, 400 Km. communication ^{links}
- d. 8000 new civilian jobs to build this infrastructure.

2. Civilian Resettlement - Yamit area

3. Increased Russian immigration

4. Uncontrolled inflation

In addition, PROJECT RENEWAL. - human rebuilding - paying debt to past generation of immigrants lacked in poverty.

PERORATION

- 1. Begini last TB at Oslo
- 2. Peace more costly + more difficult than war.
- 3. Don't lose courage or faith. The Jewish people will not falter at this ^{confusing moment}
- 4. Give more than you thought you would when you came tonight.
- 5. Let us act out our role with dignity + self-respect: doing bravely what we can to increase Israeli strength while she struggles with her future.



THERE IS AN ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN PEACE TREATY; WHY HASN'T IT BEEN SIGNED?

Once again, the negotiations for an Israel-Egypt peace treaty have run into difficulties. Unfortunately, it seems that some of these difficulties are being placed on the doorstep of Israel. This blame is not justified by the facts of the situation, which may be summed up as follows:

- 1) On 21 November, the Government of Israel announced its readiness to accept the Draft Treaty that had been negotiated in Washington, despite the Government's reservations concerning some of its provisions. The Government was persuaded by the American mediators not to reopen the Treaty, in view of the delays such action would cause in the peacemaking process. Having made this important concession, Israel was entitled to assume that the United States would, in turn, impress upon Egypt the importance of accepting the Draft Treaty as it stood, without demanding further changes. Cairo, however, delayed its response, insisting upon major changes in the Treaty.
- 2) The decision of the Israel Government followed a number of earlier Israeli concessions of substantial proportions, which had paved the way for the progress made in the talks and for the successful outcome of the Camp David Summit. These concessions include:
 - a) The relinquishment, to Egypt, of the whole vast area of the Sinai Peninsula, repeatedly used by Egypt as a base for attacks against Israel.
 - b) Abandonment of three important strategic airfields in Eastern Sinai and of the naval base at Sharm el-Sheikh.
 - c) Dismantling of Jewish villages that had been established, as a security measure, along the eastern edge of Sinai.
 - d) Relinquishment of the Sinai oilfields, which had been developed by Israel and supplied Israel with twenty percent of its oil consumption.
- 3) During the talks between President Sadat of Egypt and U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in the second week of December, President Sadat indicated a willingness to accept a series of interpretative documents whose practical effect would be to nullify or emasculate vital elements of the Treaty and to undermine or alter Egypt's commitments to Israel under the Treaty.
- 4) The Egyptian Demands

Egypt has raised five demands - some of them entirely new.

 - a) Effective negation of the validity of parts of Article 6, by means of an accompanying letter that would say, in effect, that the provisions of Article 6 would not prevent Egypt from going to war against Israel, in the event that Israel *attacked* one of the countries with which Egypt

has a mutual defense pact. To understand the significance of the Egyptian demand, it must be recalled that -

- 1) According to long-standing Arab political doctrine, Israel's presence in Judea-Samaria, Gaza and Golan, and in fact, Israel's own very existence are themselves an aggression, against which the Arab nations are entitled, at any time, to defend themselves.
- 2) It is virtually impossible, in most military clashes, to identify the aggressor quickly and authoritatively, and it is a foregone conclusion that, in the event of a clash, the Arab States will claim that Israel started the shooting, even if in fact, it was started by the Arab States themselves. Precisely this has been the case in every single war between Israel and the Arab States during the past 30 years.
- b) A demand to make Article 6 (2) (*The parties undertake to fulfill in good faith their obligations under this Treaty, without regard to action or inaction of any other party and independently of any instrument external to this Treaty*) conditional upon the achievement of a comprehensive Peace Treaty involving Arab nations that have refused to join in the peacemaking process, and that have insisted on continuing their state of war with Israel.
- c) To make the exchange of Ambassadors between Israel and Egypt conditional upon the establishment of an autonomous administration in Judea-Samaria and the Gaza District, a plan whose implementation obviously requires the cooperation of the people directly concerned. Such cooperation has, so far, been conspicuous only by its absence.
- d) A review, after five years, of the security arrangements provided for in Article IV, a demand that would undermine the Treaty's permanent character. In other words, this essential Egyptian commitment, which, from Israel's point of view, is, a crucial part of the entire package, would be regarded from the very outset as temporary - whereas all of the Israel commitments, by their very nature, are permanent and irreversible. Moreover, the five-year period appears to be designed to coincide with the ending of the envisioned transition period in Judea-Samaria and the Gaza District - another form of linkage with the implementation of an agreement that has not yet been negotiated and with partners that refuse to negotiate.
- e) The setting of December 1979 as the *target date* for the implementation of the autonomy plan in Judea-Samaria and Gaza, thus creating a commitment that Israel can hardly be expected to enter into, as the necessary negotiating partners on those issues refuse to negotiate.
- 5) These additional demands reflect an Egyptian attempt to extract concessions from Israel, beyond what was agreed at Camp David and beyond the major concessions already agreed to by Israel before Camp David. Such concessions by their very nature, are far more tangible and irreversible than those made by Egypt. Israel naturally regrets that the U.S. has apparently lent its support to these new Egyptian demands.
- 6) Israel's position was set forth by its Government on 15 December. It stated that *The government of Israel is prepared to sign without delay the Draft Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, including the annexes, as formulated on 11 November 1978, with the approval of the United States Government. Full responsibility for the fact that the Peace Treaty has not been signed rests entirely with the Egyptian Government.*

The statement goes on to list the latest Egyptian demands, pointing out that these are *inconsistent with the Camp David Framework or are not included in it, and substantially alter the provisions of the Treaty* and are therefore, unacceptable to Israel. The statement says that *the letter concerning the autonomy arrangement may be clarified and reformulated.*

Israel's Position Summarized

- 7) Israel cannot put its signature to a Treaty whose faithful implementation by Egypt would be made conditional, in several important aspects, upon a precisely scheduled implementation of other issues which have not yet been negotiated and whose resolution would depend on the cooperation of third parties who are unwilling to enter a negotiating process.
- 8) Acceptance of the new Egyptian demands would lead to the following consequences:
 - a) Egypt would have the right to join in hostilities against Israel started by another Arab country, on the basis of an alleged *armed attack* by Israel, a term which has been interpreted by the Arab world to include Israel's very existence.
 - b) Egypt would be entitled to treat the security arrangements as temporary and to press for their alteration, after a mere five years.
 - c) Israel would come under immense pressure to implement the autonomy regime by the end of 1979, whether or not agreement had been reached. This would undoubtedly include pressure to yield on points that Israel regards as vital for its security.
 - d) Israel, for its part, would be obliged to abide rigidly by all its commitments under the Treaty, including the timetable for withdrawal, whereas Egypt need not implement any of its obligations under the Treaty unless progress on the autonomy regime is achieved at a pace desirable to Egypt.
- 9) For all intents and purposes, such a *Peace Treaty* would simply provide the framework for a unilateral withdrawal by Israel, with very little to show for it in return. It seems extraordinary that Israel should be accused of bad faith for rejecting such a proposal. It is regrettable that the U.S. should have seen fit to approach the matter in an apparently one-sided manner.
- 10) Israel understands President Sadat's wish to maintain his standing in the Arab world. Since, however, these countries persist in their hostility toward Israel, President Sadat is faced with a difficult choice: Adherence to his old alliances and commitments with Arab States, still at war with Israel - or a new commitment to peace with Israel. It is Israel's hope that he will choose the path of peace and understanding, rather than the promotion of continued hostility and bloodshed, and that the Peace Treaty, as already agreed upon, will be signed in the near future.

1. Military Redeployment
2. Civilian Resettlement
3. Higher Immigration
4. Renewal - a debt to the past.

Peace more costly than war,
in money and in risk.

Don't be
pity of that
People have a tendency to
react ~~superficially~~ on the surface -
not in depth. (Six words)

Newspaper headline or TV
30-second newscast states a fact -
and people react.

War or Threat = trouble, anxiety
Peace or possibility = relaxation

8 5000 W.D. Regional
meeting
Home of Pauline Triguera
525 Park Ave.
Oct. 18, 1978

1. a) Seven months ago - terrorist attack on bus. Soldier in army of clarinets.
 - b) Our response? - Free high school education announced next week - even if we don't see clearly how to pay for it.
-

2. Today - our people sitting in Blair House making a treaty with Egypt. Hopefully, no more 14 year olds get killed.

3. New problems -

- a.) military relocation in Nagor + elsewhere
 - b.) civilian relocation all over Israel
 - c.) Higher immigration in 1979
-

4. Old Problems

PEO JOET RENEWAL

at home
and abroad

we owe it to the previous generation of immigrants who silently and ~~even~~ gracefully bore their poverty - but it is not right.

Nr. 30 78

Deputy Defense Minister Mordechai Zippori

1. relocation of military installations from Sinai to Negev will cost 11606.
2. 3 airbases scheduled for Negev, including one combined military-civilian field near BeerSheva.
3. New highway from Kerem Shalom to Eilat, parallel to new border
4. During next 3 years, after peace treaty, there will be in the Negev 600 Km. new roads, 200 Km electric lines, 400 Km communications links
5. At least 8000 new jobs ^{civilian} in ^{Negev} as result of military infrastructure.

5. If you have the money, give it -
don't delay - don't force others to
come back over and over

Proverbs 3: 28

אמר, אל תן, קודם ואתה
אתה ע"י, אתה

Say not unto my neighbor -
Go and come again, and tomorrow
I will give, when thou hast the
means with you.

6. FINISH - with Heschel's "The Widow is a
Bride Again."

You are linked to a cause
larger than your own life.

Be proud - be a bride again.

One United People

- Federation in Chicago
- + Israel

Reg. 29
~~30~~ - 33

Renewal - something special

FEAR replaced

by PRIDE -

CHILDREN - next generation

AGONY to ECSTASY

JEWISH PEOPLEHOOD - IMPLICATIONS FOR REFORM JUDAISM

Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

Phoenix, Arizona

March 26, 1979

In his introduction to the book The Jewish State, Theodor Herzl declared: "We are a people - one people". That definition became the premise on which the Zionist movement was founded, just as the rejection of Jewish peoplehood became the leitmotif of 19th century Reform Judaism. But not only Reform Judaism. The 1897 Declaration by the Protetrabbiner, the Executive Committee of the German Rabbinical Association, was signed by two Orthodox as well as three liberal rabbis. Stating that "Judaism obligates its adherents to serve with all devotion the Fatherland to which they belong, and to further its national interests with all their heart and with all their strength", they opposed the convening of the First Zionist Congress. Their protest was responsible for the transfer of the Congress, originally scheduled for Munich, to Basle, Switzerland. Exactly seventy years after the publication of the Protetrabbiner, an article in Maariv (July 16, 1968), recorded the amazing discovery that almost all the living descendants of the five protest rabbis were living in the Jewish state.

The protest is no more. No more do we hear the question: What are the Jews - nation, people, religion, race? We have found a definition which fits us. History and destiny have reinforced the conviction: The Jews "are a people - one people".

We have by now overwhelmingly agreed. Throughout the world there is a Jewish People, who in the land of Israel are organized into a Jewish State. Am Yisrael, Eretz Yisrael, Medinat Yisrael. Three related, but clearly distinct, separate and definable terms. However, it is my contention that though we have agreed on the terminology, we have not yet come to terms with the full implications of peoplehood. I believe that most of the controversies within our movement, as well as within American Jewry in general, are contemporary reflections, adapted to the changed conditions of Jewish life, of the old controversy over definition. Though we use different words than the previous generations, the religion versus peoplehood conflict is still an activating force. However, whereas in the past the debate was between

opposite poles, in this generation it is between degrees of emphasis. It is accordingly more subtle, complex and muted. Yet, if we are to refine alternative courses of belief and action, we need a continuing *process* ("controversy for the sake of Heaven"), which will bring the issues to the fore rather than submerge them.

I have selected three areas of conflict within our movement -- theology, Halachic practice and Zionism -- wherein the debate between the religion versus peoplehood emphases continues. I make no effort to be comprehensive, but will deal with one issue in each area, presenting in each instance a perspective which stresses the peoplehood dimension.

1. Toward a theology of peoplehood

Classical Reform persistently distorted the component parts of the triad God, Torah and Israel. It elevated the elements of faith and theology, minimized Halacha and tried to expunge the significance of the land, language and people of Israel. Messianism was de-nationalized and the mission denuded of particularism. The prophets were ejected from the earth of their historical milieu and projected into universal space, like a science fiction time capsule. The very phrase Prophetic Judaism became synonymous with a de-Judaized, de-Torahized, de-nationalized universalism.

Though presumably our movement has rejected classical Reform and restored the particularist dimension, we still find ourselves tied to the linguistic and conceptual premises of classical Reform. Many if not most of our statements still bespeak a theology which perceives of universalism and particularism as two forces in constant tension. This view is reflected in some of the papers delivered at the symposium sponsored by the CCAR in 1976 on the theme of universalism and particularism. One of our colleagues defined universalism as "that category of thought which tends to subordinate the distinctiveness of the Jewish people to the greater good of the general society, to minimize the distinctiveness of the Jewish people, to maximize that which it shares with other groups in society, or to put the survival of the Jewish people second to the survival of the general society." (CCAR Journal, Summer 1977, page 39). In the Centenary Perspective adopted at the Conference in 1976, universalism is identified as a "concern for humanity" and the "messianic hope (is) that humanity will be redeemed." - without reference at that point to the traditional messianic hope, the precondition of which is that the Jewish people will be redeemed. The document also states, "The State of Israel and the Diaspora, in fruitful dialogue, can show how a people transcends (italics mine) nationalism even as it affirms it." In these and other expressions, universalism is translated as concern for humanity, ethics and social justice in society at-large. Particularism is translated as concern for the Jewish people and the Jewish community, cultural

distinctiveness, ritual, Zionism, and the Jewish State. Whereas both are deemed essential, somehow the universal is interpreted as being on a higher plane, selfless, ultimate, transcendent, whereas the particular is parochial, nationalistic, penultimate, a necessity for survival, but of lesser value in the scales of eternity.

This continuing effort to separate the inseparable is a corrosive vestige of classical Reform. It has been my privilege to serve our movement on the cutting edge of both dimensions. When I was Director of the Religious Action Center in Washington D.C., I functioned ostensibly in the arena of universalism, articulating Jewish concerns and positions on issues of civil rights, civil liberties, social welfare, and war and peace. In many if not most of our efforts, no Jewish vested interests were involved. I remember once having received a call from a group that was convening a public hearing on the problems of migrant workers. The man in charge told me that they wanted testimony from a Protestant, a Catholic and a Jewish migrant worker. He asked me to find a Jewish migrant for the hearing. We scoured the country - to no avail. Finally, I called him back and asked if I could testify, on grounds that with all my peregrinations around the country, I was the closest thing we could find to a Jewish migrant. Throughout all the years in Washington, laboring in behalf of universal causes, I was always motivated by my Jewish particularism and always cognizant of the impact of our actions on the status and the well-being of Jews. I never offered testimony before Congress or gave a speech which was not rooted in Jewish tradition. I considered it my task not only to speak for Jews, but to speak for Judaism as the 4000 year old heritage of commitment to the pursuit of justice and the advancement of the human condition.

And now that I have been working in the State of Israel, supposedly the arena of Jewish particularism, I find manifold opportunities for the expression of the universal impulse. In serving on the board of an international center for youth which sponsors community centers for Jewish and Arab children, or in working in behalf of civil liberties causes or in behalf of new olim, we respond to the divine imperative of Tikun Olam (perfecting society). In fact, if I were to be asked where in our entire world Progressive movement is the interdependence of the universal and particular impulses most manifest and relevant, I would say that it is in our new small community in the Arava called Kibbutz Yahel. For there young Jews from Israel and the Diaspora are putting down roots literally in the soil of Eretz Yisrael, building an outpost for the defense of the Jewish people, planting the seeds of a new Jewish society, seeking creative forms of Jewish religious observance, implementing in their own lives, not once a weekend or once a month, but twenty-four hours every day the Jewish values of communal responsibility, economic and social justice. I challenge anyone to point to any group or congregation within our movement which is more universalistic or more particularistic.

How misguided and unfounded is the trepidation being expressed in some quarters that too intensive a Zionism in Reform Judaism is upsetting the classic balance between universalism and particularism. The genius of the Jew is to be found not in the balance but in the blend between universalism and particularism. Zionism is not only Jewish particularism; it is the epitome of Jewish universalism. The Jew instinctively understands that the ethical imperatives of religion cannot be applied or tested in the abstract. The striving for a just society must be undertaken in a specific place and a specific time. Our tradition holds that the return to Zion will provide the framework, the testing grounds within which the Jewish people as a collective, fulfilling Jewish values, will create the good society, and that society in turn will light the way for humankind.

וְהָיָה אֵשֶׁת יְהוָה יְהוֹרֵם לְךָ וְהָיָה אִתְּךָ בְּיְהוָה וְהָיָה אֵשֶׁת יְהוָה יְהוֹרֵם לְךָ וְהָיָה אִתְּךָ בְּיְהוָה וְהָיָה אֵשֶׁת יְהוָה יְהוֹרֵם לְךָ וְהָיָה אִתְּךָ בְּיְהוָה ("Cause a new light to shine on Zion, and may we all benefit speedily from its brightness."). The secular Zionist may not phrase his aspirations in the same way, but we as religious Jews should be committed to the national restoration as a means toward the fulfillment of the Messianic vision. In the words of the Zohar, quoted by Martin Buber, "The world can be redeemed only by the redemption of Israel, and Israel can be redeemed only by reunion with its land." (Martin Buber, On Zion: The History of an Idea, p. 77).

A theology for peoplehood will have to revise the facile delineations of previous generations. The true function of prophetic Judaism was to transmit the divine command: וְרַחֲמֵנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי יֵשֶׁת יְהוָה עִמָּנוּ וְלֹא יִסָּרֵנוּ כִּי יִשְׁפֹּט עִמָּנוּ וְיִשְׁמַח בְּנוֹתָנוּ. "Seek good and not evil that ye may live." (Amos 5:14). That is a command which Jews can and should fulfill in every society, Jewish as well as non-Jewish, and for the benefit of humankind, which includes fellow Jews as well as fellow human beings. Leo Baeck summarized what should be our position when he wrote "This people...has life.....only when it holds to itself for the sake of humanity and to humanity for the sake of itself." (This People Israel, p. 387).

2. Toward an Halachic orientation of peoplehood

The refusal to acknowledge the peoplehood of Israel molded early Reform Judaism's ritual character and its relation to Halacha. To be sure, other factors, such as the demands of reason and aesthetics, were at work. But, to use Kaufman Kohler's phrase, to "transform the national Jew into a religious Jew" was a prime motivation. Abraham Geiger, foremost liturgist of early Reform, boldly proclaimed the rationale for his revision of the Siddur:

"The people of Israel no longer lives.....It has been transformed into a community of faith".

"Hebrew no longer lives.....If Hebrew were to be represented as an essential element of Judaism, then Judaism would be pictured as a national religion. A distinctive language is a characteristic of a distinctive peoplehood."

"The present heap of ruins, Jerusalem, is for us, at best, a poetic and melancholy memory, but no nourishment for the spirit. No exaltation and no hope are associated with it. Jerusalem is a thought for us, not a spatially limited place. But where the literal meaning of the prayers could lead to the misunderstanding that we direct our adoration to that place, the words will have to be eliminated." (Jacob J. Petuchowski, Abraham Geiger, the Reform Jewish Liturgist, HUC-JIR Symposium, 1975, p. 44,45).

Recent generations of Reform leaders have rejected these premises of Geiger. No sanctity reposes in misconceptions of the past. But rejection must be followed by affirmation. New truths demand new consequences. If anti-peoplehood was a motivation for radical change in liturgy and practice in the past, then why should not peoplehood serve as a motivation for liturgical and ritual changes in our day? Shall not peoplehood be our "Geiger counter"?

Take the matter of Ishut (personal status), which is on our agenda during this Conference and at rabbinic meetings convened in conjunction with the World Union conferences. (The issue has been discussed at the time of, though separate from, the World Union international conferences, because our bi-annual meetings provide the only opportunity for Progressive rabbis from around the world to convene to discuss their mutual concerns, and Ishut is a major issue which concerns them all.). I do not wish to enter into the specifics of the debate at this time. Neither I nor anyone can offer a ready-made formula to unite us on matters where legitimate differences are based on divergent circumstances and experiences. I do, however, register a strong plea: Let us not deny that a problem exists. Let us not avoid the debate, which is essential to the process of working toward a solution, or solutions. Whether we like it or not, the composition and character of world Jewry today will not permit us to ignore forever the ramifications of our actions on the Jewish people as a whole.

Reform Judaism is a response to the Jewish confrontation with modernity. I predict that the confrontation with Israel as the focus of Jewish peoplehood will have no less impact on future generations than did modernity on previous generations.

Given the unique character of Israel as the state of the Jewish people, given the coalition politics - which have traditionally allowed the religious parties political influence far beyond their numerical weight, given the reciprocal influence of Dat U'Medinah (religion-state) issues on Israel-Diaspora relations, questions of Ishut will continue to be high on the agenda of Israel and world Jewry for generations to come. It is no coincidence that these issues come to the fore during the Israel election process and assume such significance that an airplane landing with the onset of Shabbat or a conversion performed by a Reform rabbi can jeopardize

the very existence of the government. We cannot wish these circumstances away; they are a reality to which we must relate if we are concerned about the unity and well-being of world Jewry.

Years ago, a delegation of our World Union leadership met with the then Minister of Religious Affairs to complain about the discrimination against our movement in Israel. He offered to give Reform Jews full rights in Israel, on one simple condition: that we register as a sect like the Karaites, who receive full government support and have full autonomy over their religious affairs. But the Karaites cannot intermarry with other Jews, and their de facto status is that of a separate and separated religious community. We told our would-be godfather that his offer was one we had to refuse. We have no intention of separating ourselves or of permitting others to separate us from membership in the house of Israel. We are in Israel by right, and not by privilege. We do not ask for any special status, but for equal status as full participants in the upbuilding of Zion.

But if that is so, then we cannot have it both ways. Rights entail responsibilities. Either Reform rabbis are agents of a separate American sect, in which case we establish our own rules, oblivious of or indifferent to their impact on other Jews; or else we are the representatives of the Jewish people, in which case we must be sensitive to the traditions and practices which determine Jewish status. I do not refer to Jewish tradition in the narrow connotation of Halacha as interpreted by the Orthodox establishment. I do refer to Jewish tradition in a broad sense as interpreted by Jews some of whom are classified as secular, including the vast majority of the Jews of Israel, who though themselves non-observant, have some knowledge and appreciation of tradition.

In 1974, at the time of the "Who is a Jew?" controversy, we met with the leadership of the left-wing Mapam party. The meeting started with a ringing endorsement by the secretary of the party in defense of our position that the Law of Return should not be amended to exclude the State's recognition of non-Orthodox conversions performed abroad. And then, after we had already won their support, some of their Knesset members began to ask questions about the Reform Movement and its conversion procedures. When it became clear to them that our rabbis in America do not require Brit Milah (circumcision) or Tvilah (ritual immersion), we sensed a retreat. The secretary of the party bluntly told us: "Our membership is by-and-large irreligious, some even anti-religious. We are still in favor of rights for your movement, but it is hard for us to understand how any Jewish group would not require Brit Milah and Tvilah. They put the Hechsher (Kosher) stamp on the conversion. How can you expect other Jews to recognize your acts as authentic?"

That, my colleagues, is the very question that many of us have begun to ask ourselves. And here I must confess that my own perspective has altered as a result of living in the more intense peoplehood setting of Israel. There are certain fundamental religious acts which are so ingrained in world Jewry, including secular Jewry, that they assume a national character and function. When the High Court of Israel ruled that Brother Daniel, a Catholic convert from Judaism, could not become a citizen under the Law of Return, they rendered a decision that was contrary to Halacha. According to Halacha, Brother Daniel was still a Jew, but according to the secular, national understanding, a person who converts to another religion is no longer a Jew. The national understanding prevailed. When not one car moves in all of Israel on Yom Kippur, that is an act of national self-discipline. When we officiate at a conversion ceremony, we are the agents of Klal Yisrael. We assume responsibility for accepting a person not into membership of a Reform congregation, but into an enduring commitment to spend the rest of his life as a member of the Jewish people. The religious act serves a national purpose. That is an awesome responsibility which affects the status of converts and their progeny for generations. We are the officials commissioned to issue the passport to travel in the Jewish world. Of course, the Orthodox rabbinate will not authorize us to serve this function. For them it is not the act of conversion which counts, but who officiates at the act, and in their eyes we are not rabbis. However, the issue is not a clear-cut conflict between autonomy and authority, between the right of the Reform rabbi or movement on one side and the Orthodox interpretation of Halacha on the other side. The conflict is between autonomy and that very vague, indefinable, intangible, but nevertheless very real perception of Klal Yisrael.

The question is not will the Orthodox rabbinate recognize us, but will the rest of the Jewish world recognize us? Will the secular Jew consider us authentic? And most important of all, will we, in this new era of peoplehood, consider ourselves authentic? That is the ultimate question. I take seriously the counsel of the distinguished elder statesman who urges us "to be ourselves". But what are we, and what do we want to be? I submit that what we want to be is not what we were. The movement which proclaimed itself a religion can with comparative ease lop off whole sections of ritual and liturgy, abrogate mitzvot, promote Sunday as the Sabbath and oppose the reconstitution of Am Yisrael. But if we are a people, then let us "be ourselves". Let us act as a people. Let us be willing to explore the distinctive "way" of the people called Halacha, knowing full well that the Orthodox definition ascribing divine origin to the Halacha will continue to separate us, and that we are talking about an Halachic orientation rather than the Halacha.

Let us respond to the thrust of Jewish peoplehood which has prevented abstract reason from taking precedence over tradition, which has reinstated

the Kol Nidre, retained Hebrew as our essential language of prayer and refused to let convenience set the Jewish calendar. Let us not be ashamed of asking the question "Mah Yomru Hayehudim", as we are now in retrospect ashamed of having so often asked the question "Mah Yomru Hagoyim". Yes, let us "be ourselves", a reforming, progressing movement within Klal Yisrael, which can respond to the challenges of the changing circumstances and perceptions of Jewish peoplehood.

3. Toward a Zionism for Peoplehood

As a Conference, we have demonstrated ambivalent feelings toward Zionism. Even though the Gates of Prayer has reintroduced most of the peoplehood components of the traditional Siddur, it has systematically excluded even a modified reference to Kibbutz Galuyot (ingathering of the exiles). The Amidah prayer יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד which reinstates a modified particularist element in the Hebrew, translates יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ ("our freedom") and יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ ("our oppressed") by petitioning for the "liberation of (all) the oppressed" and "liberty in the four corners of the earth". This is a noble thought, but one which appears elsewhere in our liturgy and which alongside the Hebrew text reflects, to say the least, an intellectual inconsistency. The original draft of the Centennial Perspective contained no mention of the word Aliyah, and when, on behalf of our colleagues in Israel, I proposed a sentence to include Aliyah, the Chairman of the drafting committee informed me that the committee had voted overwhelmingly against its inclusion. The reason? The subject of Aliyah would inject divisiveness into a statement whose purpose was to find the common denominators which bind us together. It was only when an amendment was presented from the floor that the word Aliyah was finally inserted.

In order to stimulate discussion on the significance of Zionism, I have found it helpful to differentiate between pro-Israelism and Zionism. What distinguishes the two is not formal identification with the Zionist movement. A person can be an active leader of a Zionist organization and still be a pro-Israeli rather than a Zionist. I have devised a test for determining the intensity of an individual's Zionism. The test is not ideological as such. It does not enter into the debate over "centrality of Israel" or Shlilat Hagalut ("negation of the Diaspora") or the Bavel-Yerushalayim (Babylon-Jerusalem) controversy. The test relates to an individual's personal beliefs and actions. A Zionist should be able to say:

1. I believe that the Jewish state is indispensable to my existence as a Jew, to the survival of the Jewish people and to the fulfillment of the Jewish vision.
2. I do everything possible to educate myself Jewishly and to provide an intensive Jewish education for my children, including knowledge of Hebrew as a second language.
3. I would be pleased if one of my children or grandchildren made Aliyah.

The test is simple, as you can see. But when put to American Jews, very few answer all the statements affirmatively. You may not agree on the criteria. I hope you will agree that it is essential to sharpen the discussion in terms of placing before Jews personal obligations which go beyond financial and political support. I speak about children and grandchildren because we project our highest values in terms of aspirations for our progeny.

The real test which confronts American Jewry in general and our movement in particular is whether Zionism can be incorporated into our weltanschauung as an essential element of our own lives. To this day, the average American Jew still relates to Israel as an object of philanthropy and as a refuge for homeless Jews. As if to say, "Israel is for others, not for us". Our task, therefore, is to demonstrate the interdependent relationship between the Jewish state, the Jewish people, and the individual Jew.

The State of Israel is an instrument created by the collective will of the Jewish people. But even as the people has established the state, so the state has re-established the people. Only Am Yisrael could have redeemed Eretz Yisrael, and only Medinat Yisrael could have reconstituted Am Yisrael. Martin Buber wrote, "In other respects, the people of Israel may be regarded as one of many peoples on earth, and the land of Israel as one among other lands, but in their mutual relationship and in their common task, they are unique and incomparable." (Writings of Buber, ed. Herberg, p. 303). Zionism and Jewish peoplehood are interdependent. The uniqueness of the people will be nourished through contact and identification with the land, and the state will retain its incomparable character only through contact with the people.

That is the primary ideology inherent in traditional Judaism which Zionism has made an operative principle in our day. In contrast to early Reform, which mistakenly believed that the individual Jew could be preserved without the people, we have now come to realize that it is the preservation of the people which gives the individual his raison d'etre as a Jew. Therefore, the highest priority of the Jew as an individual is to keep the people alive. In turn, the sine qua non for the creative survival of the Jewish people at this juncture in our history is to secure and develop the Jewish State. This State offers the first opportunity in 2,000 years for the Jews as a people to have some control over their destiny and to create an indigenous Jewish culture in an environment identified as Jewish. There will not be another opportunity. It is this state or none, this time in history, or never. Our commitment to the state should, therefore, not be affected negatively by the conditions or the quality of life in the State. I am troubled, even aggrieved, by many aspects of Israeli life: the deficient application of Jewish values, the socio-economic-cultural gap, the inadequacies of government, the exacerbation of problems relating to the Arab minority, the all-pervasive bureaucracy, the Yeridah, the failures in Aliyah and Klitah, the intensifying militancy within a coalition of right-wing politics and right-wing religionists, the politicization of religion, and the religionization of politics, the obstacles to religious pluralism, etc. etc.

Had enough? I challenge anyone in this conference to pen a list of shortcomings longer and more detailed than mine or to feel more poignantly the frustrations than do I. Each of us could compile a similar list on the character of American society or of the American Jewish community or of the institution called the synagogue. But those who presume to be leaders would betray their trust if they permitted the frustrations to deter them from pursuing the vision which propelled the original establishment of the society or institution, or if they permitted the shortcomings to serve as a pretext for less than full support and participation.

Here is where we as individuals and as a movement have been deficient and shortsighted. Those among us for whom the peoplehood dimension is of lesser significance, do not accord the status of indispensability to the State of Israel. They are prepared to "think the unthinkable". But I would assume that most of us subscribe to the definition in II Samuel (7:22) *מִי כָמוֹךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* ("Who is like your people, like Israel, a unique nation on earth"). If we are indeed a *גֵּוֹלָה*, then the way to retain our uniqueness is *בְּאֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל*, "through the land of Israel". Eretz Yisrael is not just another land and the Jews who live there not just another Jewish community. Israel is the setting where the Jewish character was forged and where Jewish destiny will be determined. A movement which is content to sit in the bleachers watching the gladiators battle for survival in the international arenas of the Jewish people, fails to assume its responsibility and has no right to demand accountability. A movement which is not integrated and integral in Israel can have no integrity and will neither have influence nor be influenced, neither count nor be counted.

Our unique peoplehood imposes obligations on us as individuals and as a movement:

No less crucial to Jewish survival than the struggle to achieve peace with the Arabs is the struggle to define the Jewish character of the Jewish state. Reform Judaism has a stake and a say in that struggle. Our message is universal: the revivification of tradition in response to modernity, the application of tradition to social concerns, the affirmation of the viability of the Diaspora, the equality of women. The principles we advocate and the Orach Haim (way of life) we espouse are relevant in Israel as in America.

The demographic pattern and socio-economic conditions of Israel are such that the state will not remain Jewish unless the Jewish population is bigger and better; and it will not be bigger unless it is better, nor better unless it is bigger. We have an obligation to foster Aliyah, not because there is no future for Diaspora Jewry, but precisely because the way to assure the future is to fortify the state which is a major instrument for the survival of Diaspora Jewry.

Cultivation of the Hebrew language is as essential to unique peoplehood as is cultivation of the land. An American child struggling to spit out a Hebrew sentence may in that very process develop a more intense Jewish consciousness than his Israeli counterpart chattering away fluently. Do we not have an obligation to strengthen American Jewish consciousness by establishing the educational programs, schools and camps, both in Israel and the Diaspora, which will encourage the use of Modern Hebrew as a second language for American Jews? Do we not have the obligation to provide our adults and youth with the extended learning experiences in Israel which will represent continuing booster injections of unique peoplehood?

* * * * *

We meet in Phoenix. In Greek mythology, the Phoenix bird, the symbol of the sun, lives for 500 years, builds itself a nest, sits on it and dies. From his corpse a young Phoenix issues forth, and when it has gained its strength, carries the nest which is its parents' sepulchre to Heliopolis, deposits it in the temple of the sun and flies away.

In Jewish tradition there is a bird called in Hebrew the Chol, which is translated as Phoenix, but has a completely different origin and fate. The midrash (Bereshit Rabba 19) records that in the Garden of Eden, Eve offered all the creatures to eat of the tree of knowledge. All partook, except the bird called Chol. Because of its will power, it was decreed that the Chol would live forever. The Chol lives for a thousand years, at the end of which a fire issues from its nest and it is all but consumed, except for a part of the body the size of an egg, and from that remnant it grows new limbs and lives again.

The Phoenix dies, as ancient Greek civilization has died. But the Chol lives eternally. We have seen the fires consume almost the entire body of our people, but the remnant has grown new limbs and has been restored to life.

As the fate of the Chol was determined at creation, so for the Jew eternity begins with creation. As the root meaning of Chol is "to bring to birth", so the secret of our survival is our creativity, Lamrot Hakol v'af Al Pi Chen (despite the impossible). The Phoenix leaves the body of its parent and flies off on its own independent course. Not so the Jewish way. The prerequisite of our survival is to preserve the body of the Jewish people and from that body to develop new forms and inspire new life.

כי בחר ה' בציון אלה זולתו או
כי יעדג גמר או יה יטנאל אסגולתו
כי לא יטש ה' עמו ונתתו או יעדג

"For the Lord has chosen Zion, He has desired it for his habitation,
For the Lord has chosen Jacob unto Himself, Israel for His own treasure,
For the Lord will not cast off His people, neither will He forsake His inheritance".

(Shacharit prayer,
Verses from Psalms)

יהי כבוד
לעולם



Four Periods of Israeli History

1948-56 Poor, buoyant, hopeful, national cohesion, absorb immigrants, build army and economy

1956-67 Relations in Africa
Zionism fulfilled

1967-73 New era, rapid growth, chief military power, settlement in wilderness - but; shadows - i.e. occupation was distortion of democracy & Zionism; and, social divisions, private gain, falling values & standards.

1973- Y.K. war was shattering
Israel today is a powerful but divided nation

Dayan's basic position on West Bank

1. Abolish military government
2. Hand over area's administration to local inhabitants - home rule
3. Keep settlements in blocs - don't scatter - don't interfere with home rule.
4. Keep IDF protective presence (inside West Bank - or outside - he doesn't say) - don't allow area to become base for terror activities.
5. Give U.S. facilities at bases - but doubts if U.S. will ask for them.

FULFILLING THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH PEACE OFFERS US WILL COST MORE THAN WAR

THE CHALLENGE OF PEACE

1

Boston
Reform
Oct 20 - 1979

CAMPAIGN SPEECH for 1980

"malaise" - FIRST TIME STRONG DOUBTS ABOUT ISRAEL'S POLICIES HAVE SURFACED.

1. Many Things wrong in Israel.

Much grumbling and disagreement, even among strong supporters.

- a.) Leadership crisis - Squabbling cabinet
- b.) Economic crisis - 100% inflation
- c.) Morale crisis - materialism, people turned inward

Dissatisfaction with Israel government policies ~~do~~ not mean disaffection with Israel itself.
must

2. Problems with U.S.

Because they are more deeply involved than ever in the peace process - and we must pay for that involvement by realizing that we cannot have it all our way. Carter has a great deal at stake.

a. settlements

~~2. Problems with U.S.~~ b. Autonomy

2

3. Problems with Blacks

this is long-time brewing

⇒ 4. BUT - we are living not only with problems, but with hope

A. Peace Process is moving
according to timetable

1. Sinai evacuation
2. Exchange of ambassadors

B. Israel is remaining strong,
and trying to balance threat
on Eastern front. They are
better equipped than 73, and
can fight without Egypt.

C. Immigrants continue to come.
Perhaps 40,000 in 1980

(3)

D. Project Renewal is getting
the bugs out - and will
help solve some of the
social problems.

5. LONG RANGE PROGNOSIS

A. Two centers of Jewish survival,
contrary to all previous experience.

B. Israel by end of century will
have more Jews than U.S. - Thus
will be able to give, not merely
receive

C. We must hold very firm
and everything will come
out alright.

In Israel { Pay for resettlement of civilians
 Pay for redeployment of military
 Pay for new immigrants
 Pay for social reconstruction
 Pay for the on-going education

In U.S. Pay for community growth - ^{absorbing hundreds} education - day schools

The 20th century is our time of agony and ecstasy, travail and rebuilding, shocking reality of our loneliness and solidarity, new-found knowledge of our strength and inexperience

This is our human condition - the best we have had in two millenia.

We will not miss our most golden moment. Jews of Israel will do what they must - Jews of U.S. will do the same.

The past is our heritage
The present " " responsibility
The future " " challenge

2.3 2.7

- 20% increase in rep. gift
- Project Renewal - one year's gift - spread over 5.
Kiryat Ata.

two cards



Worcester Jewish Federation

633 Salisbury Street, Worcester, Massachusetts 01609 756-1543

November 29, 1979

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
American Friends of Jerusalem Academy
75 East 55 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Herb:

They're still talking about that exciting and extraordinary evening when you gave many cause to pause and consider. You are being quoted frequently, but not in vain, around town on your "disagree but support" theme. We're greatly indebted.

Much appreciation and warmest regards from all.

Cordially,

Melvin S. Cohen
Executive Director

MSC/m

Bulletin Board

Where and when for all local events

See page 5

Calendar

Community activities and events for December

See pages 6 & 7

Jewish Book Month

Holocaust works are featured

See page 9

Jewish

2874 C
JEWISH FEDERATION
633 SALISBURY ST
WORCESTER

903

MA 01609

Leader

VOLUME 54 NO. 45 • WORCESTER., MASS., • THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1979 • KISLEV 5740 • 12 PAGES 20 CENTS

Addresses Campaign Dinner

Friedman Cites Dangers To Israel

By Lois Hackett

Special to the Jewish Civic Leader

"If you use disagreement with the Israeli government's policies as an excuse for withdrawing support, you're committing a crime — the crime of playing God and using the power of your purse as blackmail."

This warning was at the heart of the address Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman, dynamic former United Jewish Appeal executive, delivered at the dinner which inaugurated Worcester Jewish Federation's 1980 campaign. Held November 20 at Beth Israel Synagogue, the event drew a full house of over 200 people.

Rabbi Friedman's address followed presentations by leaders of the current campaign. In their speeches of welcome both Federation President Morton H. Sigel and Campaign Chairman Saul F. Feingold stressed that, to meet the exceptional challenges of the 1980 appeal, Federation's campaign cabinet has adopted an intensive face-to-face approach to fund-raising this year; the great majority of contributors will be personally visited by volunteer solicitors.

Mr. Sigel noted that the new approach is needed because fund-raising is "far more difficult when blood is not flowing, even though Israel faces economic ruin because of the high costs of peace." Mr. Feingold said that the cabinet, in setting the 1980 target at \$2,700,000, had accepted the national goal of a 20% increase over last year, as the best way to ease hard choices between local and overseas needs. He reaffirmed the community's pledge of support for Project Renewal above and beyond the regular campaign.

Women's Division President Barbara Kane and W.D. Campaign Chairperson Carol Glick called attention to the key role



Rabbi Friedman with President Sigel on right addresses Inaugural Dinner.

women will play as "full partners in meeting the changes of this year and years to come."

Rabbi Friedman addressed himself first to the dark side of Israel's current situation — and pulled no punches in doing so. It should be noted that he spoke as an American who is now an Israeli citizen; he made aliyah in 1971.

"There is today in the American Jewish community a 'malaise' about Israel," he said, "For the first time strong doubts about the Israeli government and its policies have surfaced among American Jews."

"Jewish leaders have tried to suppress these, push them under the rug. And many American Jews feel they have no right to express disagreement with Israel. This is wrong. You do have the right, even the duty, to say what you feel. It is your coun-

try as well as mine. You built it with your moral, ethical, financial and spiritual investment."

Rabbi Friedman noted that in Israel as well as in the U.S. there are two opposing points of view about establishing Jewish settlements in the West Bank. "Some people think it blocks the peace process, reneges on the Camp David agreements, and prevents any progress toward autonomy for the Palestinians. Others — notably Begin — believe that strengthening the settlements is essential to Israel's security and puts definite limits to the degree of autonomy Israel can agree to."

"You may feel that Begin's settlements policy is responsible for Israel's bad P.R. image, is dangerous, threatens bankruptcy and is a surrender to the Gush Emunim. And you may be right. But disaffection with government policies must not mean disaffection with Israel itself. Policies and governments change; Israel goes on. You're too deep into building something important to let a temporary disenchantment affect your giving. To use the power of your purse to express disagreement with government policies is to play God, to resort to blackmail."

Danger Deeper than War

As other factors contributing to the "malaise", Rabbi Friedman cited "an authentic leadership crisis", with cabinet members "at loggerheads with each other and squabbling like children"; also inflation, now at 100%, which he believes can only be controlled by political decisions the government has been unwilling to make.

As a result, he said, Israelis at all levels — from kibbutzim, the universities, the man in the street — are becoming more materialistic and losing their idealism, with

(Please turn to page 3)

Friedman Addresses Campaign Dinner

(Continued from page 1)

this main concern "making it to the end of the month."

"This is not the clear bright shining ideal of Israel we can all rally round, that has made us feel ten feet tall," he said. "There's a crisis of confidence. The danger is deeper now than it has been in any war.

"But it's our Israel — the repository of our faith, our hope, our belief, our dreams. You have to say, 'I'm going to make it work.' You have to act with the hard kind of heroism that is needed in a moment of doubt."

The Other Side of the Scale

In a more optimistic vein, Rabbi Friedman addressed himself to "the other side of the scale" — Israel's achievements and progress under these very difficult conditions.

He pointed out that "the peace process keeps moving," the Israeli and Egyptian governments keep talking, moving from one country to another in a kind of "ping-pong game", and that the Camp David deadlines are being met. He noted that Israel's major airbases have already been moved out of the Sinai and the new bases in the Negev are going up even faster than the time table set for them.

"We believe — we have good reason to believe — that Sadat is irrevocably em-

barked on the road to peace," he said. "He is stronger, less worried about attacks by other Arab countries; the risk was worth taking."

The speaker called it "a good and hopeful sign" that, in spite of Russian military supplies pouring into Syria and Iraq, Israel is retaining its military strength vis-a-vis the confrontation states, and said that posture of strength may be a deterrent to any attack.

As another positive factor, Rabbi Friedman pointed out that Israel has gone right on absorbing immigrants from the USSR and other countries — 40,000 this year, or twice as many of the much larger and richer American Jewish community — as if life were perfectly normal. He also said they are "getting the bugs out" of Project Renewal, an effort which he believes will solve a myriad of social and welfare problems. In this connection, he stressed that, in spite of their heavy burden of taxation, the Israelis have matched Worcester's pledge of their heavy burden of taxation, the Israelis have matched Worcester's pledge of \$2,000,000 for the rehabilitation of a depressed neighborhood in Kiryat Ata.

"When you think of this side of Israel, the other pales and fades away," he said. "There is an equivalence between the two. You get back on the track, recapture your love and pride."



The Worcester Federation Campaign opening drew a crowd of over 200 people.